UNITY

FREEDOM. FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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The Mission of Charity

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Determinism and Christianity

By GERALD M. SPRING

Some Impressions of America

By WILFRED WELLOCK

VOLUME XCVII NUMBER 2

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UNITY

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVII MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1926 NUMBER 2

A blinded soldier speaks:

"The victorious generals and the men who survived will march down the Champs Elyseés. The bands will play gay tunes. The soul of France will thrill at the sight of the flags and the music of war. All its horror will be forgotten. . . . I would like to see a different kind of victory march, with all the wounded of the world, French and German and English, with the army of the blind and the cripples without arms and legs, and the young men without jaws and noses, inhuman and dreadful. The sightseers would shudder and shed tears. They would cry out and groan, 'There must be no more war,' they would shout 'never again!' They would have pity. There would be a peace not of vengeance but of mercy and justice. It would help us to build a new world. Youth—the young men who knew the worst of war—would take the leadership of life from the old men with the old ideas. The Army of the Dead—that great ghost army—would march ahead of them, to greater victories than those of hate and blood."

Sir Philip Gibbs, in
"The Unchanging Quest."

Since the days of Tolstoy, no man has bulked so large upon the world's horizon as Mahatma Gandhi. No man has appealed so irresistibly to the imagination of the race as this amazing saint and statesman of India. Gandhi's rise to his present undisputed position of moral primacy has been rapid, and is now attaining to an even more exalted elevation than that reached by the immortal Russian. The identities between the two men are impressive, but still more impressive are the differences. Tolstoy entered upon his religious experience after many years of worldly dissipation, and as the result of a vast convulsion of his inner nature. Gandhi, *per contra,* grew into his sainthood in his early youth, and by a process as natural and beautiful as the flowing of a quiet stream from spring to river. The Mahatma's writings contain no such record of *sturm und drang* as makes Tolstoy's "My Confession" one of the most painful as well as one of the most eloquent books ever written. Again, Tolstoy was to the end of his days a stormy, disillusioned, unhappy person. His principles were sublime, but they were born as chains rather than carried as weapons. He was a non-resistant by sheer will-power as a matter of discipline, not as a natural expression of his own native qualities of being. Gandhi, on the other hand, has found the secret of peace and inner harmony. His non-resistance is a process not of repression but of unfolding. He has "arrived" in his spiritual life, as Tolstoy never at any time "arrived." Lastly, Tolstoy was essentially an individualist, a sublime moral personality standing alone and mighty like a mountain against the sky. But Gandhi is a social figure, the leader of a people in a mass-movement for emancipation, one of the greatest statesmen as well as purest saints of history. Gandhi has done what no other non-resistant has ever done outside the narrow bounds of religious sectarianism—carried over his gospel from the individual to the social experience of man. What with Tolstoy was a single life, has become with Gandhi a national uprising. What was exemplified by the Russian as a rule of individual conduct has been transformed by the Indian into a method of social revolution. The Mahatma is the greater man! Hence the importance of his autobiography, which will appear in America exclusively in these pages beginning on April 5th next.

In certain ways the peace of Europe looks more secure today than at any time since the close of the Great War; in certain other ways it looks less secure. In one direction at least there is a menace to peace more forbidding than anything that Europe has known since Napoleon the Little. We refer of course to Benito Mussolini and his dictatorship over Italy. When tempted to optimism over future prospects, remember Benito, and the possibilities of his rule! At the moment the despot seems secure upon his throne of power. Disaffection in the land of Mazzini, however, must be widespread in the deep if not on the surface of life; or, if there be no disaffection today, it is bound to appear sooner or later under such a tyranny as now exists in Rome. Slowly but surely this disaffection will gather strength, and at last rear its head here, there and everywhere as rebellion. For dictatorship breeds opposition as inevitably as the winds breed storms. Mussolini will fight this opposition as he has fought all opposition from the beginning, by new and more terrible repression. But his iron hand will hold the enemy in check only for the moment. Swiftly the army of revolt will mobilize and terribly it will threaten. At last the hour will arrive when Mussolini will see his power on the edge of defeat and overthrow. Then will he do what every autocrat has done since the beginning of historic time—plunge his country into war abroad to end disaffection and rebellion at home. He will find or make a Corfu or a Tyrol issue—deliver one of his flaming speeches of insult and bravado—kindle the hearts of his compatriots with patriotism—order out the colors, sound the bugles, and thus hurry

not only his own nation but all Europe into conflict. We used to think of the Kaiser in the old days as the menace to the peace of Europe—his "mailed fist" and "shining armor" were the terror of the world. But this Kaiser was as nothing compared with this new Caesar of Italy. Mussolini is as near to a madman as any man who has ruled since Nero, and any time he wants to make of the continent a pyre for his own vainglorious immolation, he can do it. There can be no peace, no disarmament, no League of Nations, so long as this dictator rules. To catch and cage him as a wild beast, is the first step toward international peace today.

Antonia D. Paguia is in trouble again (see UNITY, February 1st, page 307). This dauntless Filipino has renewed his attacks on Governor-General Wood, and is once more seized and punished by that sensitive satrap. This time Paguia, a councilman-elect in Manila, has been calling Leonard Wood a "usurper of Philippine autonomy," an "autocrat," "the worst emissary of the imperialists ever sent here," and has suggested that "if his death could only be secured by prayer, he would have been dead long ago." In view of the way in which Filipino patriots feel these days about the American occupation of their fair land, we are inclined to regard these epithets, thus applied to the representative of alien rule, as astonishingly mild. They are certainly precise to a degree of accuracy that is nothing less than scientific. Leonard Wood has been an "autocrat" all his life; he is without question "the worst emissary of the imperialists" ever sent into the East; and he is in his official capacity the "usurper of Philippine autonomy." Paguia has thus only spoken the truth, as he did before. And just in this fact, of course, is found the heinousness of his offense. Governments fear nothing quite so much, and punish nothing quite so terribly, as truth. Of course, Paguia is mistaken in confusing the man, Wood, with the situation, Philippine occupation. If Wood should suddenly die in answer to prayer, his passing would not alter the situation in the slightest degree. Another Governor-General, just as bad, or worse, would take his place, although we concede that it would be no easy job to discover such a man. We never get anywhere, in other words, in attacking persons, or seeking to remove persons. What we must attack is the system, the idea behind the system, and thus alter basic and not superficial facts. Woods come and go, but the terrible thing is that the Philippine occupation threatens to go on forever. Paguia will do well, therefore, if he forgets General Wood, and focuses his attention upon the system which is behind the General. Yet Paguia, in this mistake, is doing only what all agitators for liberty have always done. Indeed, this whole episode as between Paguia and Wood, reminds us of nothing so much as certain famous episodes in 1775, as between Samuel Adams and George III.

But it isn't only in the far-away Philippines that people get into trouble for speaking their minds. Look at Brockton, Massachusetts, and its arrest of Anthony Bimba on a blasphemy charge under a law nearly three hundred years old! Bimba is a Lithuanian who came to Brockton and delivered an address to his compatriots on conditions political and economic in the home country. In the course of his remarks he had some things to say about the church and Christianity. According to the statement of the prosecutor, this is what Bimba said, and what, therefore, is alleged to constitute blasphemy in the State of Massachusetts:

> "People have built churches for the last 2,000 years, and we have sweated under Christian rule for 2,000 years. And what have we got? The Government is in the control of the priests and Bishops, clerics and capitalists. They tell us there is a God. Where is He?
>
> "There is no such thing. Who can prove it? There are still fools enough who believe in God. The priests tell us there is a soul. Why, I have a sole, but that sole is on my shoe. Referring to Christ, the priests also tell us He is a God. Why, He is no more a God than you or I. He was just a plain man."

If this is plasphemy, then how many thousands of men in Massachusetts and elsewhere are guilty of blasphemy? What about the Unitarian Humanists, who deny absolutely the existence of the God who has been worshipped all these years in Christian churches? What about the psychologists of the Behaviorist school, who regard the idea of the soul as an out-and-out superstition? And what shall be done with the Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom in religion, which certainly means freedom to deny as well as to affirm. Of course, in this case the charge of blasphemy is only a pretext. This man, Bimba, is a radical agitator whom it was inconvenient to have at large. So some method had to be found of getting rid of him, and the old Puritan blue law came in handy. Just for this reason, however, is the case a peculiarly outrageous instance of persecution. It brings us just one more illustration of the fact that civil liberties in this country exist only upon sufferance, and that the moment the government desires for any reason, good and sufficient unto itself, to put on the fetters, it does it as promptly and effectively as Mussolini himself. If there was ever a case more ridiculous and abominable than this Bimba case, we would like to know it. So long as such things can be in a state like Massachusetts, the liberty of no one of us is safe.

Now that the notorious Countess Cathcart case is over and done with, it may be interesting to note the consequences, or rather logic, of the whole affair. What have we learned from the action of our noble government in this case? First, that a "crime" is one thing, and an "act" is quite another. One might think that there is some "moral turpitude" involved in the fact that the Countess is a confessed adulterer, and that, if there is any danger in "moral turpitude" from which this pure country and undefiled must be protected, it lies in the offense visited upon our accepted standards

of honor by the Countess's relations with her paramour. But not so! Her adultery is unimportant. What *is* important is that this adultery under the law is not a "crime." Hence the Countess is unblemished and the country safe from contagion. Moral lesson number one—do anything you want to, only be careful you keep inside the law. Secondly, we have learned that a lie is better than the truth. The Countess got into trouble with the immigration officials because she answered the questions submitted to her honestly. Others no better than herself have passed the gates of Ellis Island without interference because they denied the facts as universally known. Moral lesson number two—when threatened with trouble, be careful always to lie. Thirdly, in affairs involving immoral relations between men and women, it is still the woman who pays. The Earl of Craven, with whom the Countess Cathcart eloped to South Africa, came into this country some months ago with never a word of protest or complaint. But when the woman came along, there was instant trouble. Moral lesson number three—in all cases of adultery and such like, be sure to be the man and not the woman involved. How wholesome all this is! How effectively the government has protected the morals of the nation! We have no great admiration for the Countess. She impresses us as an irresponsible, rather vulgar woman, guilty of a first-class offense against public decency. But her treatment by the government has worked more moral damage in an hour than the Countess has worked or will work in a life-time.

Some weeks ago—in the issue of UNITY for November 16, 1925, page 132, to be exact—we commented favorably upon the report of the Harvard committee investigating the famous medium, "Margery," which report, it will be remembered, stated that "trickery accounted for all the phenomena." We accepted this report as final, and expressed the opinion that it "should rightly lay for good and all this monstrous silliness of Spiritualism." Now comes to our desk a remarkable pamphlet, signed by Mark W. Richardson, M. D., a distinguished Boston physician, Charles S. Hill, a Boston lawyer, Alfred W. Martin, a leader of the Ethical Culture Society, S. Ralph Harlow, A. M. (Columbia), Joseph De Wyckoff, a lawyer, and L. R. G. Crandon, a Boston physician and husband of the medium, all of whom have sat in seances with "Margery" innumerable times. This pamphlet publishes the full record of the sittings of the Harvard committee, analyzes in the light of this record the condemnatory report of the committee and the later article by Hudson Hoagland, a member of the committee, as published in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the title of "Science and the Medium," and offers certain special reports by J. Malcolm Bird and others. After reading this pamphlet we feel in honor bound to state to our readers that, in our judgment, it opens up the whole question once again and thus completely discredits our previous editorial statement. "Margery" has not been proved a fraud. On the contrary, the explanation of her marvellous performances on the ground of fraud seems to have completely broken down. The reality of what she is doing under strictest control is established, and the spiritist hypothesis is one which must be at least considered. In saying this, we are shaking the conviction of a life-time. But we are interested in convictions only as they are consistent with truth, and truth is what we want. Incidentally, thanks to the courtesy of Dr. Crandon, we are ourselves having sittings with "Margery," and thus seeing things for ourselves. For the first time we are witnessing phenomena which are impressive. What they mean we are not prepared to say, but our mind, like our eyes, is wide open. We promise our readers fuller reports later.

The Mission of Charity

A strong, vigorous man with long swinging stride swiftly passed along the Great Highway. He walked as one with a resolute and fixed purpose. He was not to be turned aside. His determination was to reach yonder height before sunset. From that vantage he would view the glories and beauties of the departing day. There he would gain the inspiration, the courage to meet the duties of the new day. He would see with his own eyes the hills of beauty, a prophecy of the the grandeur of the world, an assurance of the age of peace and plenty.

As he walked, a voice cried in piteous tones,

"Help me to my feet! I have fallen, I am weak! If only I could be set upon my feet and given one more chance, I think I could go on."

The Strong One scarcely turned his head. As he quickened his pace, he called back:

"I must gain yonder summit! I must see the dream of dreams, the ideal of ideals, the vision of visions!" and he disappeared in the distance.

But when he reached the summit, a great mist shut out the valley. He never saw the hills of beauty.

Following him came a Great Soul who walked as one who is passing through an earthly paradise. Every bush and flower, every tree and rock was for him aflame with God. At each turn of the highway, his step slackened. He bowed his head in reverence. Strengthened, he renewed his journey. As he passed along, a pleading voice from the roadside cried:

"I have fallen! I am weak! If only I could be

set upon my feet and given one more chance, I think I could go on."

The Great Soul turned to the One-in-Need. His strong hand grasped the weak one. The fallen was put upon his feet.

Without waiting to hear those words of gratitude, this Great Soul pressed on. He too found the summit. There was no mist before his eyes. He saw the hills of beauty, the vision of visions, the ideal of ideals.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Jottings

We read hurriedly the book notice—"Murder, Piracy and Treason," by Raymond Poincairé. "At last, we cried, "the French President has decided to make confession and explain his responsibility for the Great War"! But we read the book notice a second time, and discovered that the author's name was not Raymond Poincairé at all, but Raymond Postgate. Another fond hope blasted!

We rejoice to find a liberal excerpt from George Willis Cooke's autobiography as published in UNITY, reprinted in the January issue of the Indian monthly; *Current Thought,* of Madras. Thus fly winged words about the world!

The Mellon Tax Bill is the final and perfect proof that Mr. Coolidge is a magic man. The very completeness of his mediocrity has cast a spell upon the people, so that anything goes! Critics of the administration are helpless. The smallness of the target makes it impossible to score a hit.

The newspapers are printing Mexican atrocity stories on the front pages. This looks as though a war with Mexico were on the way. The sign is as sure as that of the crocuses in the spring-time.

Thomas W. Lamont, of New York, speaking of Italy and Mussolini, has this to say:

> "I venture to ask all of us who are manifestly liberal as to whether we are liberal enough at any event to permit Italy to have the sort of government that she seems to want."

Fine sentiment, Mr. Lamont! Why have you never thought of applying it to Russia?

We have just one reaction on the case of the Countess of Cathcart, excluded from this country on the charge of "moral turpitude." This reaction is the pious wish that England, France, Germany, Italy, etc., would "go and do likewise." We would dearly love to see all our American tourists lined up at the frontiers, and asked to prove that they were not guilty of adultery. And how many would get by?

J. H. H.

Determinism and Christianity

No man of sound mind can be averse to the idea of improving human society, although opinions as to the degree of man's perfectibility vary and have varied greatly. The writer, however, far from optimistic, has never joined the group which proclaims that human nature can not change. There is too much evidence against such a view; one need only observe the differences already wrought among men by varying environments. It is evident that if these variations are to be made to tell and if the proportion of the higher types is to increase something must happen. Concerned as we are in this study mainly with environment it seems preferable to do no more than mention the part eugenics might play in improving heredity. An intelligent meliorist can not but see the necessity for certain radical changes in human habits of thought; if he be a man of action he will figure among those who are striving to bring them about. Speculative philosophy has for many an age been a human diversion and as an art it should not be denied its place. But anyone interested in the amelioration of human society—what thinking person can fail to have been sufficiently shaken for that by the cataclysm of the world-war?—will look to a philosophy of another sort. The present essay is intended as a philosophical contribution which, it is hoped, may prove useful in solving certain problems.

We must really face the fact that certain habits of thought mean corresponding habits of action. The quality of a man's life is to so large an extent determined by the quality of his thoughts that the practical importance of certain aspects of human philosophy can not be overestimated. Let us take, for example, the problem of free-will. But before discussing this question we must define our terms. Determinism and fatalism are generally used as synonymous. In this essay "determinism" will be held to imply merely that man's choices are the result of heredity and environment and will not include the attitude of mental abandon which may more accurately be termed "fatalism." We shall attempt to show that the latter is not a necessary consequence of the former. Taking up now the problem of free-will, who will question that a determinist has of necessity a personality and attitude to life differing profoundly from that of a believer in free-will? Among those denying the freedom of the will let us consider the fatalists: can anyone doubt that such an opinion cripples the human being entertaining it? It seems to the writer undeniable that the nature of human conduct is in great measure dependent on the individual's attitude to this question. This becomes very manifest in the varying degrees of success we attain in carrying out the precepts of our different philosophies and religions. Let us think, for instance, of Christianity: ours is supposed to be a Christian civilization and yet it does

not seem possible to conceive of a greater paradox than the antithesis between this name and actual fact. During the recent war how few questioned the propriety of preaching hatred from Christian pulpits! Many thinking people, perhaps a majority of them, have come to despair of Christian principles, thinking them unsuited to frail mankind. There certainly are facts enough to support such a belief! Now is it not our duty to inquire further into the truth of this and should we not be ready, if necessary, to give up our Christian pretensions? There is something peculiarly degrading in keeping up the forms of a cult after one has definitely relinquished its spirit. What could be more productive of hypocrisy than the manner in which the Christian religion has been taught? If it be regarded as impossible to love one's enemy and to return good for evil then let none aspire to a Christian life, for those are the essentials of the Nazarene's teaching. Many of us have heard the remark that one can not in fairness pass judgment on the Christian religion since it has never been tried. Could a different philosophy change matters? We have spoken of the effect of habits of thinking on actions. Might it not prove helpful for us to reach the masses with a really clear exposition of these important issues and would that not tend to discourage hypocrisy?

Nothing, in the writer's opinion, has a more direct bearing on the practicability of Christ's teachings than the problem of free-will. Three positions are possible: one may believe in free-will, one may be a determinist, or one may become a fatalist. Determinism does not, as is often believed, imply fatalism. The choice made is a matter of far greater importance than people generally realize. It is the purpose of this essay to demonstrate the far-reaching consequences of the various intellectual attitudes to this question. The deterministic viewpoint will be defended, but this is not seen as an occasion for adding page upon page of argument to an age-old controversy. We shall merely attempt to show how our beliefs in this respect affect us personally and in our relations to our neighbors in the struggle for existence.

At first sight one is favorably impressed with the free-will position, for does it not make the individual holding it feel responsible? Should we wish to live in a world the inhabitants of which lacked all sense of responsibility for their actions? The deterministic view which considers the individual to be the product of his heredity and his environment appears to lead directly to a hopeless fatalism. If your character be fashioned and indirectly your actions determined by forces over which you have no control, is it not apparent that your fate is decided from without and that you are helpless in its hand? What could be the use of struggling? This is quite enough to account for the failure of determinism to win universal popularity; there is besides the fact that it contradicts common-sense reasoning. We feel as if we were free moral agents. Have we not numberless times in our lives been confronted with alternative modes of conduct and were we not *free* to make our choice? Influences of different sorts could not be denied but in the last analysis it was a case of a free and independent personality faced with a choice between right and wrong. We actually heard the "still small voice" of conscience! Far more attractive this than fatalistic abandon!

It must be avowed that determinism has so far every appearance of being weakening and indeed of having nothing to recommend it. In the following pages I shall attempt to show: first that determinism need not lead to fatalism, secondly, that the free-will position does not in actual practise keep what it promises, and thirdly that the latter opinion brings in its train some very unfortunate consequences which an intelligent determinism avoids. I shall intimate what I mean before proceeding to the argument: The only intellectual basis for hatred is the doctrine of the freedom of the will. As determinists we can not consistently hate human beings either individually or collectively. Hatred is such an old human habit that it may seem to many impossible to overcome, but is it not conceivable that one might regulate and aim it in a socially useful direction? Think of the outlet that some of our pugnacity finds in sports! The essence of Christianity is its insistence on love and its interdiction of hatred among men. If this has never been more than a great ideal realizable by a very few noble souls it is partly because of the existence of this intellectual basis for hatred. Nothing is stronger than habit and how immeasurably greater must be its power when it is continually reinforced by an intellectual sanction! There is nothing tempting in the notion of forgiving to say nothing of loving an obnoxious neighbor whom we consider morally responsible, especially since our human habit of personifying often makes us identify or associate evil-doers or such as are hateful to us with Satan and a whole kingdom of evil. Need we wonder that the serious advocates of this idea have found but few followers? It seems as if one could almost say that the Christian doctrine stands or falls with determinism. Both Augustinian and Calvinistic theology are deterministic but in the fatalistic sense. Is it not conceivable that Christian teaching would be more successful if based on a different kind of determinism? The question that must be our first concern is whether or not it is possible to avoid the apparent disadvantages of the deterministic idea. Is a consistent determinist bound to become a fatalist?

The individual who is exposed to an environment from which he is constantly receiving impressions physical and mental, has inherited a certain constitution, which, modifiable though it be, is a factor that must be taken into account. This constitution is the result of accumulated experience in the mental as well as the physical spheres. It is this social and racial inheritance in combination with continuous environmental influences that determines the character and hence the reactions of the human personality. Modifications are forever taking place but the result will always be the product of the two sets of forces, hereditary and environmental. Now what is the human will? Defenders of the doctrine of the freedom of the will see this as a superior force residing in the individual in virtue of which he can independently make decisions and choices and strive for certain ends. For this concept our sense of moral freedom is doubtless responsible. But however true it may be that we are under certain circumstances free to do as we wish and that we can make use of what is called will-power to accomplish our purposes, what guarantees our freedom as wishers? How is the nature of our wishes determined?

Determinists see the human will as a force of which the direction is absolutely determined by the constant and in fact life-long operation of two sets of forces, hereditary and environmental. Will-power is not denied but the direction it takes is thought to be

decided in the way we have said. A person of strong will-power would mean a well-balanced person characterized by an individually and socially useful disposition of forces. Heredity and environment combined have in this case so directed the individual's energies as to produce a happy result. A person is also a part of the environment of his fellow-men and may in some cases become a very important factor therein.

Fatalists see human beings as the helpless tools of destiny and consequently have no desire to exert themselves. Why should they do so? It will be seen that determinism does not imply such an attitude of passivity. The great point to be kept in mind is our relative freedom: *we are free to do as we wish.* It is because people's wishes are believed to be determined by character and this latter factor by heredity and environment that determinists refuse to judge others. But how is a determinist to think and act with respect to himself? This is something of a dilemma. Is it true that he must inevitably become a fatalist? Can not a realization of his relative liberty preserve him from this? It is evident that for a person to refuse to hold himself responsible for his actions is a misfortune. Must we then train ourselves to occupy the paradoxical position of holding ourselves strictly to account while declining to judge our neighbor? We are apparently forced to such a conclusion by the logic of our argument. For if it is unjust for us to judge others it is unwise for us to vigorously apply the logic of determinism to ourselves. This is easy enough to understand: if instead of cheerfully making use of our undoubted freedom to do as we wish we were to spend most of our time pondering this fact of our wishes being the result of heredity and environment, we would soon be in an unhealthy state of mind. It could only paralyze us in the struggle for existence.

Then there is the question of whether or not people are free moral agents: here again fatalism should at all costs be avoided. If determinists continued mindful of the fact that they are free to do as they wish they would not be likely to fall into the serious error of shirking responsibility for their acts. In treating of this question of moral responsibility and freedom we must remember that "right" and "wrong" and "good" and "evil" are relative terms. These conceptions have varied greatly in different ages and among different peoples. A decade or two may bring about extraordinary changes in moral values. Broadly speaking "good" or "right" may be taken to mean something that is socially beneficial and their opposites what is anti-social. People's acts follow from their wishes and these are dependent on the degree of social intelligence to which they have attained. There is a group for whom the problem of moral freedom is much simplified: those whose personal happiness has come to be dependent on the good of the greatest number. Since they like others are free to do as they wish life becomes for them merely a matter of skillfully subordinating all their wishes and actions to the larger wish, the happiness of the greater number. This they have the liberty and power to do since heredity and environment happens to have thus fashioned their characters. The degree of their success will of course depend on their intelligence. It should obviously be the aim of educators to augment the number of such individuals. By increasing knowledge it is possible gradually to add to the number of persons whose wishes are socially intelligent.

The nature of everyone's wishes is determined by the concurrence of hereditary and environmental forces, but while justice requires that no one judge his neighbor, expediency demands that people make full use of their freedom to fulfill their wishes without worrying too much as to their source and justification. On the other hand we certainly could not do without the sense of moral responsibility: this is extremely important and should be inculcated through some environmental agency.

What has been advocated here does not involve an intellectual contradiction paradoxical though it sounds. A thorough-going determinist views himself as he does others; but while he may allow himself to dwell on the factor of heredity and environment when thinking of them in order to counteract the strong human tendency to blame others, he may decide to disregard this aspect in his own case. Were anyone to give any emphasis in his thoughts to the relativity of his freedom, it would incline him to fatalism which is certain to lessen anyone's chances for successful adaptation. Thus an intelligent determinist will avail himself to the best of his ability of the freedom that is his. He will struggle and use his mind in the knowledge that a passive attitude would produce a different and less desirable result than a continuance of more or less intelligent activity. The embracing of a fatalistic creed can be looked upon only as the result of pernicious suggestion, as an unfortunate environmental influence. Whoever has not inherited an active temperament should somehow manage to get the impulse to lead such a life from his environment. Anyone leaning toward fatalism can by helpful influences and strengthening suggestions be led to a more healthful outlook. Assuming that he has as the consequence of an unfortunate environmental influence come to feel helpless and become apathetic it is always possible for him to be brought back to a more intelligent attitude through the same agency. The illusion of absolute freedom is a priceless thing and must ever be maintained. Thus fatalism is not a necessary consequence of determinism.

The opponents of determinism uphold the free-will position among other reasons on the ground that it alone can make for a feeling of personal responsibility. This is a very important point and it must be owned that the contention sounds reasonable. I should however like to put the following questions: does the free-will position in actual practise keep what it promises? It seems superfluous to say that its adherents do not always take the responsibility for their acts and that they do not always blame themselves for such as are unworthy. Quite as powerful as the tendency among the rank and file to follow the path of least resistance is this other one to shift responsibility. Certain superior representatives of humanity do rise above both of these weaknesses, but they are in the minority and it must be said that such nobility is the exception rather than the rule. The desire to shift blame is an almost universal human trait and so strong is this habit that the doctrine of the freedom of the will is powerless to overcome it. All we can hope is that with the passing of time there may be an increase in the number of individuals who feel morally responsible. Though admitting that the free-will idea seems to make for a sense of responsibility and that it constitutes an intellectual basis for

it, the writer feels that its efficacy in that respect has been exaggerated. Without stopping now to examine the soundness of the doctrine it seems indisputable that it has failed to establish personal responsibility. The comparatively rare individuals who feel it, do so regardless of theory. These elect are to be found in both camps, among determinists as readily as among believers in the freedom of the will. A curious fact should be noted in this connection: a passive attitude is quite compatible with a belief in freewill. How many people there are who blame their fellowmen for the condition in which they find themselves and who consider themselves abused by the world! Following a very natural tendency they have profited by the right their theory gives them to hold their neighbor morally responsible and the result for them is a state of lamentable weakness partaking of the nature of fatalism. Nothing could be more valuable than this feeling in the individual of moral responsibility; it is contended, however, first that the free-will position has not been noticeably helpful in increasing it and secondly that determinism whenever it is really understood does not diminish it. Certain human tendencies are too strong to be overcome by the intellect or even to be perceptibly modified by it. On the other hand and this is our third proposition, the human intellect is capable of supporting and strengthening an already existing tendency. Having tried to show that supporters of the free-will position are on account of the constitution of human nature unable to keep what they promise, we shall now enlarging upon a topic already introduced concern ourselves with the unhappy effects of this doctrine.

The willingness to take blame has been described as a desirable but rare quality which an intellectual position such as the one occupied by believers in free-will seems incapable of fostering. Its opposite, the disposition to hold one's neighbor responsible is known to be universal and is indeed so strong as to seem ineradicable. This tendency, it is affirmed, has been strengthened by the human intellect; it is being continuously reinforced by the doctrine of the freedom of the will. People may be and usually are loath to apply its logic to themselves but it is ever being rigorously applied to others. The neighbor and on a larger scale the neighboring country is regarded as responsible. This doctrine, as we have said, is the one and only intellectual basis for hatred. Without it there will continue to be disagreements, rivalries, contests and clashes of all sorts, but consistently there can then exist no hatred among men.

No attempt has been made in these pages to prove that determinism represents the truth or that the doctrine of the freedom of the will is false. Consciousness and in fact many phases of the human personality are a mystery to the psychologist and will in all probability long continue so. We have merely intended to show the tremendous significance of one's viewpoint in this matter.

The unfortunate effects of the free-will position may appear to be established, but this brings us again face to face with our dilemma. If we take for granted that determinism makes for tolerance and peace by removing an intellectual basis for hatred, can we be certain that the feeling of personal responsibility will not be lost simultaneously? Is it feasible to maintain the paradoxical position of holding oneself strictly to account while declining to judge or blame one's neighbor? This, the logical conclusion of our argument will be seen to be justified. A philosophy which considers character the product of heredity and environment should preclude such a thing as holding people responsible for their actions. But what does this mean in actual practise? It can only be salutary when applied to one's neighbor, but we have seen that it may work real havoc by undermining the morale of people who apply it unintelligently to themselves. Can we then for the sake of expediency train ourselves to see our neighbors' lives as determined by heredity and environment while continuing ourselves to live and act as if we were absolutely free agents? We have seen that there is danger in dwelling on the relativity of one's freedom. Whoever has followed the argument closely will see that this does not involve an intellectual contradiction. Although determinism is assumed to be true it is considered inexpedient because weakening for people to carry it to its logical conclusion and in judging their own lives. The writer is convinced not only that this attitude is expedient but that there is nothing chimerical in such an idea. Life is a matter of illusion to begin with and is full of paradoxes. This would constitute a useful one. The question to ask ourselves is whether it is really possible for people to train themselves. However difficult it may sound it is perfectly conceivable. Extraordinary results may be achieved by training people from childhood up. Without going into much detail I should like to call attention to two extraordinary phenomena: first the existence of our so-called Christian civilization and secondly that of the Roman Catholic mind. The latter presupposes the co-existence in one subject of two minds: one that reasons and one that blindly accepts. This shows that things apparently as difficult have been accomplished. This is suggested as one of the radical changes in habits of thinking that must take place before human relations can perceptibly improve.

I wish now to elaborate the thesis that Christ's teaching is in its essentials practicable once hatred is even partially eliminated. This would constitute a basis for peace such as the world has never known. It is clear to cautious thinkers that pacifistic agitation is likely to be futile in the present world and that one is to some extent justified in calling its authors unpractical idealists. But what exactly is meant by the "elimination of hatred?" It seems self-evident that if this were even partially achieved wars would either not occur, or be of a far less serious character.

Hatred tends to be twofold in character involving as it does accusation and self-justification. It is of course in essence an intense dislike directed against another human being or group. The only intellectual basis for it is the doctrine of the freedom of the will because this means that the individual or the collectivity hated is considered morally free and hence responsible. It will be recollected how during the late war this state of mind was stimulated and to a great extent created through propaganda. Nothing is of course more valuable from the militarist standpoint that this mass-hatred. One is really too sanguine in hoping for peace as long as it continues to be possible to evoke it. Mass-hatred, as we have seen, rests upon an intellectual foundation of which the removal at the present stage of human development must be of inestimable benefit.

It might be valuable now to consider other aspects of Christ's teaching. The significance of the deterministic viewpoint will become ever more apparent. Jesus commands us to love our enemy and to return good

for evil. Nothing is more unmistakable than that he absolutely forbids hatred. Is all of this possible? Would we under such conditions remain normal human beings and could we continue to carry on our business of living in all its aspects?

I repeat that I consider it no extravagance to say that Christianity stands or falls with determinism. It has so far been unsuccessful because the primitive but not ineradicable human tendency to hate has been thriving on an intellectual sanction, the free-will idea. Although it has been claimed for the latter position that it strengthens personal responsibility, we have attempted to show that its efficacy in that respect may reasonably be doubted. What is meant by loving one's enemy? To comprehend this one must take into account that in the deterministic view the word "enemy" loses much of its sting. This word tends to take on a sinister meaning and even comes at times to embody a kind of personification of evil. For a determinist "enemy" can never be more than a synonym for "opponent." It signifies a person who, made essentially of the same stuff as ourselves, is subject to the same influences of heredity and environment as we. It would scarcely be reasonable for us to hate him just because circumstances have made him our adversary. Christian love is quite possible when it is known to mean sympathy with a fellow-creature that is in a position very similar to our own. If we are good Christians we will refrain from doing even our opponent any serious harm. We may even wish to be helpful to him when we can do this without renouncing what we most desire. This clearly is not always easy and the degree of our success will depend on our aptitude in overcoming the effects of a contrary habit mainly due to early training. Children of future generations may have the opportunity of attaining moral heights forever beyond most of us, the products of different philosophy. Habit is so strong! It is easy enough to strike the word "hatred" from one's vocabulary but not so easy to nullify thousands of years of social and racial and decades of individual habit. That something, however, can be done in this direction is already proven by the example of certain favored individuals. We recur once more to the necessity of beginning this kind of moral training in early childhood. Educators everywhere should be brought to appreciate this necessity. Is the Christian life compatible with human selfishness and indeed with self-respecting manhood? It seems to me that it is not necessarily incompatible therewith. A man need not allow anyone to trample on his rights, he may defend himself from all violence physical or otherwise. He may in fact lead a most active life competing and struggling for supremacy. His selfishness can be regarded as reprehensible only when it goes beyond a certain point, for selfishness within bounds is self-expression and that is life. One may, however, argue the desirability of cultivating an intelligent selfishness, one which takes the neighbor and his rights into account. It may well be objected that some aspects of the Christian religion must forever remain unsuited to humanity in general. Humility and renunciation are not everyone's affair and indeed there are many whose temperament inclines or even adapts them to the superman philosophy of a Nietzsche. Why not practice eclecticism and reject whatever may be inappropriate to one's nature? What has been outlined and urged in this essay may resolve itself simply to the proposition that one is intellectually not justified in hating his fellowman. Such a philosophy can be counted upon as a powerful aid in getting rid of hatred as a destructive force; the extent of people's capacity or inclination for its opposite, for love, must vary greatly and that is clearly another matter. The idea of doing away with hatred among men should not of itself prove a hindrance even to a Nietzschian. It is very far from being a philosophy for weaklings! The one indubitably valuable thing in the teaching of Jesus Christ is his command to us to overcome hatred: never under any circumstances are we to permit ourselves to hate a fellow-human being. As determinists we can readily see that it would not be reasonable to do so. One may deplore circumstances and lament or even hate hereditary and environmental influences responsible for the formation of characters deemed undesirable. All this can only lead to a constructive desire to improve conditions and may help make one anxious to constitute a beneficial influence in an enemy's environment. This need not involve an undue sacrifice of one's personal advantage. At any rate once we have reached the stage where we do not allow ourselves to personify evil it is evident that no person or group can possibly become the object of our hate. Determinism can do this for us. It is manifest that there is in the latter philosophy no logical basis for the destructive power of hatred. It must be repeated that hatred as an instinct and age-old human habit can only disappear by degrees and as a result of much counter-training.

The writer does not propose that one take quite literally all of Christ's commands. But there is perhaps something in favor even of the idea of returning good for evil. Evil means harm to someone and it seems reasonable to insist that amends be made to counteract it, that a good, that is to say beneficial, action be made to weigh in the balance against an evil one. The suggestion is made in the bible that one manage to "heap coals of fire" on the head of the offender. Obviously the expedient thing to do is to somehow bring the guilty one to a realization of his wrong. Whereas no self-respecting person will humbly allow himself to be trampled upon, it is equally true that hatred is as foolish as it is unwarranted. Two wrongs never yet made a right and no good has ever been known to come from the common practice of retaliation.

This, then, in the writer's opinion, is one very necessary change in human thought. Without it it does not seem as if one could reasonably hope for any marked improvement in human society. We need a fundamental change in our philosophy and it is only by means of such a change that we may expect to advance to a higher level.

Humanity would surely be better off without the scourge of war. Can war be avoided? We have said that serious clashes of interest are bound to occur in a world such as ours. But the substitution of the new philosophy for the ideas still held by the great majority would, it is claimed, make it possible to extend the practice of legal adjustment. Moreover once systematic hatred had disappeared there would be a chance for the further growth of a sportsmanlike spirit in human competition. For are we not after all, to use a slang-term, all of us "in the same boat." Would that people could be more generally made to realize this! How much better the game of life could then be played!

It is to educators especially and to all who are working for peace that this essay is submitted in the thought that it is on a subject worthy of their consideration.

GERALD M. SPRING.

Non Violence

The article, from which extracts are printed below, was contributed to Young India by Mahatma Gandhi on October 8, 1925. It is one of many which he has recently been publishing, both in relation of his own position to Christianity and also in order to clear up his own meaning with regard to non-violence.

Two terms are used that need some explanation. "Satyagraha" means "Truth force," as contrasted with "Brute force." It is that attitude of resistance to evil by suffering any hardship for the truth but never using material force in retaliation. Full Satyagraha involves non-violence in thought and word and deed, and at the same time willingness to suffer in one's own person, up to the extreme point of death, on behalf of what one believes to be the truth.

"Swadeshi" (lit. "one's own country") means, according to Mahatma Gandhi's own definition, "the use and service of that which is near, to the exclusion of that which is more remote." Thus, it is the use and service of domestic articles to the exclusion of foreign articles. Mahatma Gandhi in his Madras speech (in which he gave this definition) also urged that this implied the use and service of domestic religion to the exlusion of foreign religion. When challenged he added that it would imply the improvement of one's own religion of its excrescences, such as the excrescence of "untouchability," but not the giving it up altogether, unless there was fundamental untruth. For instance, he has said "I would cease to be a Hindu if I were called upon to believe that 'untouchability' was fundamental to Hinduism." When challenged as to whether his definition of Swadeshi did not tend towards the immoral doctrine of "My country at any cost," he has said, as plainly as possible, that the truest service to one's own country is to stand out at once against it, when it transgresses the laws of truth and justice and Ahimsa (non-violence), and that he would regard it as the highest form of patriotism, if he could help his own country to lose its own selfish existence in the greater service of humanity.

C. F. Andrews.

The article was written in reply to a letter from Germany in which the writer asked for guidance for the youth of Europe, and especially of his own country, who accept Gandhi's creed, and "see in it a new attitude to political things put into action, of which till now they had only dreamed." The chief points from the letter are summarized below, and the extracts give the replies, and indicate something of what Mahatma Gandhi would have to say as to the working out of the method of non-violence in our European problems. For convenience in comparison, the questions and the replies are here numbered.—[Ed.]

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1. "You declared that Satyagraha demands absolute non-violence. . . . Even a woman in danger of being violated must not defend herself by violence . . . you recommended the punishment of General Dyer, which shows that you see the necessity for law guaranteed through violence. . . . A man who stands for punishment in general must not shrink from killing. . . . You value life so low that you allow thousands of Indians to lose theirs for Satyagraha."

2. "You see in Non-co-operation a safe and quick way to freedom for India . . . against a government that has the force of arms. But when a whole State wants to get its rights from another state, then the principle of Non-co-operation is powerless, for this other one may get a number of other States to form an alliance with it. . . . Not until a real League of Nations exists, to which every state belongs, can Non-co-operation become a real power, since no State can afford to be isolated from all the others. That is why we fight for the League of Nations but that is also the reason why we try to retain a strong police force, lest internal revolts and disorder should make all foreign policy impossible. That is why we understand that other governments are doing what they forbade us to do, arming themselves in case of an attack by their enemies. They are, for the time being, obliged to do so, and we really ought to do the same if we don't want to be continually violated. . . ."

3. "We see Satyagraha not in an absolute non-violence which never has been really carried out, even by you, or even by Christ himself who drove the usurers out of the temple. With us, Satyagraha is the unreserved disposition to brotherhood and sacrifice.

"We ask you, to advise us to fight for our country in the way we think right. . . . How do you justify an entire non-violence which we see as a resignation to all real fighting against wickedness and for this reason wicked in itself?"

When I think of my littleness and my limitations on the one hand and of the expectations raised about me on the other, I become dazed for the moment, but I come to myself as soon as I realize that these expectations are a tribute not to me, a curious mixture of Jekyll and Hyde, but to the incarnation, however imperfect but comparatively great in me, of the two priceless qualities of truth and non-violence. I must therefore not shirk the responsibility of giving what aid I can to fellow-seekers after Truth from the West.

1. There is no difficulty about my endorsing the statement that "Satyagraha demands absolute non-violence and that even a woman who is in danger of being violated must not defend herself with violence." Both these statements relate to an ideal state and therefore are made with reference to those men and women who have so far purified themselves as to have no malice, no anger, no violence in them. That does not mean that the woman in the imagined case would quietly allow herself to be violated. In the first instance such a woman would stand in no danger of violence and in the second if she did, without doing violence to the ruffian she would be able completely to defend her honor.

I believe implicitly that perfect purity is its own defense. The veriest ruffian becomes for the time being tame in the presence of resplendent purity.

Not only did I not recommend any punishment of General Dyer but even my colleagues, largely out of their generous regard for me, waived the demand for punishment. What, however, I did ask for, and I do press for even now, is the stopping of the pension to General Dyer. It is no part of the plan of non-violence to pay the wrong-doer for the wrong he does. I am quite capable of recommending even punishment to wrong-doers under conceivable circumstances; for instance I would not hesitate under the present state of society to confine thieves and robbers, which is in itself a kind of punishment. But I would also admit that it is not Satyagraha and that it is a fall from the pure doctrine. That would be not an admission of weakness of the doctrine but weakness of myself. I have no other remedy to suggest in such cases in the present state of society. I am therefore satisfied with advocat-

ing the use of prisons more as reformatories than as places of punishment.

But I would draw the distinction between killing and detention or even corporal punishment. I think that there is a difference not merely in quantity but also in quality. I can recall the punishment of detention. I can make reparation to the man upon whom I inflict corporal punishment. But once a man is killed, the punishment is beyond recall or reparation. God alone can take life, because He alone gives it.

Suffering injury in one's own person is of the essence of non-violence and is the chosen substitute for violence to others. It is not because I value life low that I can countenance with joy thousands voluntarily losing their lives for Satyagraha, but because I know that it results in the long run in the least loss of life and what is more, it ennobles those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifice.

2. I think that the writer is correct in saying that non-co-operation is not merely an ideal but also "a safe and quick way to freedom for India." I do suggest that the doctrine holds good also as between States and States. I know that I am treading on delicate ground if I refer to the late War. But I fear that I must in order to make the position clear. It was a war of aggrandizement, as I have understood, on either part. It was a war for dividing the spoils of the exploitation of weaker races—otherwise euphemistically called the world commerce. If Germany today changed her policy and made a determination to use her freedom not for dividing the commerce of the world but for protecting through her moral superiority the weaker races of the earth, she could certainly do that without armament. It would be found that before general disarmament in Europe commences, as it must some day, unless Europe is to commit suicide, some nation will have to dare to disarm herself and take large risks. The level of non-violence in that nation, if that event happily comes to pass, will naturally have risen so high as to command universal respect. Her judgments will be unerring, her decisions will be firm, her capacity for heroic self-sacrifice will be great, and she will want to live as much for other nations as for herself.

3. I do justify entire Non-violence and consider it possible in relation between man and man and nations and nations, but it is not "a resignation from all real fighting against wickedness." On the contrary, the Non-violence of my conception is a more active and more real fighting against wickedness than retaliation whose very nature is to increase wickedness. I contemplate a mental and therefore a moral opposition to immoralities. I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper-edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition from him which recognition would not humiliate him but would uplift him.

—*Mahatma Gandhi.*

Reconciliation.

Some Impressions of America

[Mr. Wellock, a distinguished English radical, spent some months on a lecture tour in this country last fall. He contributes to UNITY these interesting impressions.—EDITOR.]

I have discovered the eighth wonder of the world. It is the coolness, in American eyes, with which the fussy, fulminating John Bull tolerates the growing ascendancy of the red flag. Americans simply cannot understand it, and are finding the explanation in drugs, beer, foreign influence, hypnotism, moral decay, fear—every conceivable thing but the right one. It would appear that a country laboring under the handicap of a Monarchy is prone to tendencies that would be given short shrift in a real democracy. But be the cause what it may, America is overflowing with sympathy for the Old Country. The present affliction of the latter, which in the view of the former consists less of unemployment, industrial disorganization, land monopoly, etc., than of Trades Unionism, the Dole, Bolshevism, is a calamity which baffles most thinking people. Many Americans, indeed, are convinced that England is down and out, and that the world's future lies with the United States. But a few dare to think that Britain will again raise her head, and that in due course a strong man, a Coolidge or a Hoover will arise, smash the Trades Unions, clear out the Communists, and bring back prosperity by a reorganization of our industries on the American model.

And yet there are some really distinguished people in the British Labor movement, intelligentsia, staid members of the middle class. That is a fact which requires some explanation, for the British middle class has the reputation of being about as sane and respectable as any section of world society. The only occasion on which it is possible to mention the word Socialism to the average American audience, without having to call in a doctor or a policeman, is when one is talking about the conversion of the British Middle Class. Not that America is afraid of ideas: she has got as many religions as other country. But the trouble with the Socialists is that they are not content with preaching ideas; they want to change things!

Consequently the socialist lecturer carries the dreaded emblem in his bag and only pulls it out at the psychological moment on pain of his freedom. He is usually informed beforehand that he is to try no tricks, that American audiences do not like shocks, and that it is far better to be reasonable and to talk about the "rights of labor," etc. But, of course, this is all wrong. Shocks are necessary, and if properly administered people like them. The aim should be to make their effect pleasant. If people can be made to endure a good shock they are so pleased with themselves that they will run home and tell all their friends, who in turn will want the experience. All that has happened in England already. The trouble now is that Socialism no longer shocks anybody in England, and that in consequence it is being too much taken for granted.

In America one begins an address on Socialism

by describing conditions in Britain. That secures the first necessity of conversion—sympathy. After that one proceeds to causation, which appeals to the reason. Then, after showing the anti-social nature of capitalism and its impotency to create a decent world, one deals with alternatives, the possibility of new motives and industry, and new methods of production and with the means of creating these motives. This appeals to the imagination, and usually strikes one's audience dumb and helpless, for modern politics make no appeal to the imagination. Finally at the right moment, one connects the battery, and whispers: This is Socialism! The audience gasps, colors up, perspires—but survives. The shock produces a sort of pleasurable pain, the thought of which gives pure delight.

What Americans seem wholly unable to realize is that it is possible to do anything without the inspiration of the dollar. One stands aghast at the expression on the faces of good Baptists and Presbyterians at the very idea of industry coming under the category of "conduct," the law of service and love. Tiring of the question: How could people work if there were no promise of riches? which came like a flash from one pair of lips and countless pairs of eyes, every time I lectured on this subject, I began to change my tactics and to forestall my audiences in the way described. But if I ventured to bring in Christianity, my audience would look at me as if I were taking an unfair advantage of them. I discovered that Americans don't like theories, but prefer slogans, which explains, I suppose, why America is satisfied with having dubbed itself a democracy, and why Britain, having still a monarchy, is more concerned about being a democracy.

I am writing these notes at the close of a ten-weeks' lecture tour, which has taken me through the United States, and down the Pacific Coast from Seattle to Los Angeles. My schedule was a fairly embracive one, and included lectures on Disarmament, the Causes and Cure of War, Imperialism, India, Gandhi, the Race question, the Growth and Ideals of the British Labor Movement, etc. My meetings were arranged by key people who tried to get me into all sorts of organizations, but it astonished me that I was brought before such a small number of working-class audiences, as in similar circumstances, in England, probably 80 per cent of my audiences would have been working-class, while most of them would have been arranged through the I. L. P. or the Labor Party.

What surprised me most, perhaps, was the way in which the doors of the colleges and universities were opened to me. In most of these institutions I found a few fine spirits who are conversant and in sympathy with the social idealism that is fast taking root in Britain. Many of these, I found, had been broadened by joining one of Sherwood Eddy's European tours.

My impression of American peace propaganda is that it is afraid of realities, and in consequence places far too much stress on machinery. We all admit that such institutions as a World Court and a League of Nations are indispensable. But do not current events abundantly prove that such machinery is of little use, may, indeed, do more harm than good, by reason of the fact that owing to a weak public opinion the ends of justice may be subverted by it? And after the Washington Conference, what hope can there be in the present disorganized condition of public opinion, of a further disarmament conference? Obviously no machinery of the kinds named is going to be of the least use until by one means or another a more stable and virile public opinion has been created. We want a public opinion that is strong enough to combat the daily influence upon our Governments of financiers, investors, armament makers, war lords, etc., etc. How is that opinion to be produced? To my mind it can be produced by one means only: by challenging the people on the issue of war; whether they believe in it or not; whether they mean to have done with it or not, and whether or not they realize that war will continue until they themselves say that it has got to stop.

Propaganda to this end aims at showing that war is inhuman and unnecessary, and that Governments will go on obeying armament makers, financiers and imperialists until they discover a public conscience which declares that these ancient and barbaric customs and policies must cease, and that war must be abolished. Then and not until then will Governments take seriously the call for economic and political freedom in countries like China and India, or resort to a World Court and a League of Nations with a will to make them work.

Such is the line of action that is being pursued more and more in England. It is also for these reasons that most of the peace forces in Britain and many Socialists are supporting Arthur Ponsonby in his campaign to secure a million signatures to the letter he has drawn up and addressed to the Prime Minister in which for reasons stated the signatories will not support the Government in any future wars. A Government that is faced with 100,000 conscientious objectors to war, let alone a million, will think twice and more than twice before it ventures on a war.

I have been rather disappointed with the attitude of many leading American Socialists toward this question of war. It is certainly true that capitalism is the chief cause of war, and that it will tend to create war so long as it holds sway. Yet even capitalism can be made to modify its policies. And by means of anti-war propaganda it is possible to destroy one of the most powerful weapons capitalism possesses. Certain it is, moreover, that if war cannot be ended before capitalism is overthrown, civilization is doomed, for we are even now heading straight for a huge racial war between the East and the West. Unless, therefore, we can prevent such a catastrophe, even though capitalism still remain, it is useless to talk about Socialism or anything else whatsoever. Finally, to those Socialists who say that the Capitalists will never give up the sword until we wrest it from them with all that it protects, I only wish to add here that if we have not evolved and cannot evolve a better way of gaining and retaining power than that which capitalism employes, then Socialism or the age of brotherhood is much farther off than many of us like to think.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

The Study Table

A Religious Anthology

This little book* is a compilation of selections from the scriptures of the world's great religions—Egyptian, Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Confucian, Greek, Roman, Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan. The selections are brief—mere sentences, most of them—but, carefully arranged under such significant topic-headings as Brotherhood, Work, Duty, Sincerity, Justice, Humility, Good for Evil, Tolerance, etc., etc., they furnish an impressive demonstration of what the editor calls "the spiritual substratum on which a fellowship of faith rests." The volume is a first step toward that ultimate Bible of Humanity which will some day in adequate form make scripturally apparent "that all religions are one in that they share in common religious and moral ideas and ideals of paramount and permanent worth."

The book is the rich distillation of years of special investigation and study by its scholarly editor, Dr. Alfred W. Martin, of the New York Ethical Society. It contains forewords by Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Paramananda, Channing Pollock, John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Rudolph Grossman. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

* "The Fellowship of Faiths," published by the Roland Publishing Company, New York.

"The Everlasting Stain"

"Kelly Miller is undoubtedly the greatest pamphleteer of the Negro race." So the cover of his book reads and we agree. His open letters in the past and in this present volume, where we have one to Harding on his Birmingham address and one to Woodrow Wilson on the St. Louis riots, show him at his best. How clearly he points out the danger of Harding's doctrine.

"Your platform, based upon the assertion of 'fundamental, inescapable and eternal differences of race' is calculated, in the long run, to do the Negro as great harm as the Taney doctrine would have done had not the aroused conscience of the nation negatived the interpretation which the author placed upon it."

Give Dean Miller something to chew on, someone's pronouncement regarding the Negro's place in the United States with which he does not agree, and he can present arguments with force and persuasiveness. His open letter to Thomas Dixon on the Leopard Spots has taken high place in American polemics.

In his general articles, however, slight essays of which the book is largely made up, there is little that is new or unusual. The volume gathers together various papers treating with the Negro's relations to issues growing out of the World War. A bit on education, showing the danger of counting as illiterate a person who can read and write only very simple things; another on population, deploring the falling birth rate among the college graduates; chance remarks here and there on African colonization, on Haiti, even on Lloyd George and Methodism. The book ends on an optimistic note, the belief in the power of endurance, "the dominant virtue that crowns the apex of the pyramid of human striving."

Dean Miller is contiually sounding the note of conservatism. He loves to inveigh against the "diabolical spirit of disturbance." He assures us that the Negro will not be allured by the arguments of distracted, destructive radicals. Rather he will align himself with property interests and continue unhesitatingly to vote the Republican ticket. "His alignment with the party of conservative business integrity may serve to postpone the final issue of the conflict between labor and capital, and, it may be, lead to permanent security of the existing order." In this secure, existing order, however, there is to be no exploitation of one *race* by another.

"The English are not good enough to govern the Irish. The Russians are not good enough to govern the Finns. The Germans are not good enough to govern the people of the Congo."

And then here comes a slight change in the rhetoric: "Men *are not considered* good enough to govern women." We suspect that he felt doubtful here.

Kelly Miller tells us that there are few Negro radicals. "The Negro nature possesses the conservatism of inertia." It is just this inertia that we sense in the present volume, this inability to see the new and to greet it. The book moves on steadily, quietly, in an approved and very familiar, old-time way. We do not doubt that Dean Miller deeply admires the great abolitionists, Garrison, Phillips, but we may be sure, had he been white, he would never have joined their disturbing ranks.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

* "The Everlasting Stain." By Kelly Miller. Published by The Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

Note

"Patriotism Is Not Enough," by John Haynes Holmes, was published in England in December last, under the imprint of the famous London publishing house of Allen, Unwin and Company.

IN THE CALIFORNIA MOUNTAINS—A NIGHT SCENE

"Unto the hills I lift mine eyes,"
Out of the heart of night.
Where these Sierran summits rise
And hedge the stars from sight.

The murmur of the canyon stream
Comes to me from the deep,
Like laughter breaking through a dream,
Or music heard in sleep.

A something hardly yet a breeze,
A moistless dew of sound,
Drifts down upon me from the trees
Which guard my camping ground.

And restfulness too strong for sleep
Enfolds me like a balm,
Where these majestic mountains keep
Their everlasting calm.

"Unto the hills I lift mine eyes,"
And born of this release
Yet vaster summits I surmise,
And calm that will not cease.

FOR UNITY. ROBERT WHITAKER.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

PROGRAM
The Friday Morning Forum
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March 5—Scott Nearing
What I Saw in Russia.
A sociologist well known to the members of Lincoln Centre Forum.

March 12—Maurice Parmelee
Conflict in Human Nature.
Leading criminologist and sociologist. Recently returned from China, Japan, India, etc.

March 19—Margaret Sanger
Birth Control.
Mrs. Sanger is America's leading exponent of optional parenthood.

March 26—Arthur Guiterman
The Faith of the Poet
President Poetry Society of America. Author of "Chips of Jade," "The Light Guitar," "The Singing Muse," etc. Contributor to many standard monthlies and leading humorous weeklies.

International Fellowship of Reconciliation

Bulgaria—An Amnesty Bill has been formulated by the new Premier, M. Liaptcheff, and the work of pacification seems really to have begun. Except for persons convicted of murder, or attempted murder, and certain Communist revolutionaries, nearly all political prisoners and exiles will be released or allowed to return, if they promise to respect the law in future. Measures for the preservation of political liberties are also to be introduced. Refugees from Greece, and the activities of Macedonian revolutionaries, still constitute an extremely difficult problem for the new Government.

* * *

Catholic Circles—On the initiative of some Catholic friends of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an International Peace Congress will be held at Clerf (Luxemburg) from April 6-9. Catholic friends from all European countries will be welcome. The chief subjects of discussion will be War, and Conscientious Objection to Military Service. For further information apply to the International F.o.R., 16 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

* * *

Finland—"A Locarno for North-East Europe" is the subject of much discussion. In connection with the arbitration Treaty between Poland, Finland, Esthonia and Latvia, an arbitration and conciliation Committee composed of four members has been appointed to deal with all such questions. The Finnish Reichstag has refused to sanction the building of a fleet.

Two new Peace Societies have recently been formed.

A C. O., Heikki Simonen, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment, the lightest sentence possible.

* * *

France—The War in Morocco is apparently to continue until the winter operations of the French result in the submission of Abd-el-Krim. With increasing hopes of success the Government has reversed the trend of M. Painlevé's negotiations, through Captian Gordon-Canning, which might have ended in peace and a measure of autonomy for the Riff. French reinforcements continue to arrive in Syria, and the 15 days' period fixed by the new High Commissioner has expired without any appreciable movement towards surrender. The leaders no longer demand withdrawal of the French Mandate, but they ask for native government of a sovereign Syrian State, and a general amnesty.

Conscientious Objection to Military Service was the subject of a lively debate at the annual assembly in December of the "Society for Peace through Law" (L'Association de la Paix par le Droit). The C.O. position was vigorously defended by Pierre Cérésole, Joseph Betmale and M. Paul Allégret, advocate at the Limoges Court of Appeal. A resolution was passed almost unanimously, recognizing "the force of example which radiates from intense moral, religious and social convictions," and calling upon the League of Nations to draw up universal rules by which the maximum of freedom should be afforded to the individual conscience. Discussion of this question still continues in the "Cahiers des Droits de l'Homme" (organ of the French League of the Rights of Man); in the issue of January 10, M. Fernand Corcos, of the Central Committee, explains and defends the C.O.'s attitude and his relation to society. A novel, entitled "Roux le Bandit," by Andrée Chamson (publishers, Grasset) deals with the same problem.

* * *

Great Britain—A new battleship "Rodney" has recently been launched. Like the "Lord Nelson," which was also launched in 1925, this ship, built in accordance with the Washington Treaty, cost £7,000,000 and will cost £450,000 a year to maintain. Together, the two ships cost about as much to the nation as the League of Nations cost the whole world!

The British F.o.R. is arranging an Easter Expedition to the beautiful, historic town of Arles, in the South of France. It is proposed to hold an international Pacifist Demonstration, in co-operation with the Fellowship School of Gland. Visitors from other countries will be welcome. Apply to Expedition Secretary, F.o.R., 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, or to Miss Emma Thomas, Fellowship School, Gland (Vaud), Switzerland.

* * *

Japan—An International Buddhist Congress was held in Tokio in November. More than a thousand Buddhist priests and monks from Japan, Korea and China gathered to discuss the possibilities of closer union between Buddhists in the East, and to consider methods of spreading Buddhism in the Western world. The only non-Asiatic speaker, Professor Petzold, a German Buddhist who has taught in Japan for fifteen years, spoke of inner unification between Buddhism and Christianity, and urged that an Institute should be founded for the study of Buddhism and for propaganda

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in the West. The Congress may be compared to the Stockholm Conference of 1925, and is significant of the new life which is awakening in the religions of the East.

* * *

Yugo-Slavia—The Military Budget amounts to three milliards of dinars, a quarter of the total Budget; Education is allowed only 800 millions, although there are many villages with no primary school. "Patriots" defend this by pointing to the "Mussolini menace" and talk openly of expansion in the Balkans and the commercial necessity of a port on the Aegean. At a recent lecture of "Slav Solidarity" at Belgrade University, the audience of more than two thousand enthusiastically applauded the aspiration for unity with "our Bulgarian brothers."

* * *

A Welcome to Walter Trumbull

Chicago workers will celebrate a first workers' victory against the forces of American imperialism when they join next Friday night, March 5th, at the North Side Turner Hall, 820 North Clark street, in a mass rally to welcome Walter Trumbull, just released from the Alcatrez Military Prison. Though sentenced by court-martial to 26 years' imprisonment at hard labor, this young soldier's sentence was cut to one year, due to a world-wide storm of protest.

What his "crime" against imperialism was will be told by Trumbull, who will also bring a message from Paul Crouch, left in prison to finish the rest of his three-year sentence, reduced from forty years. How, as soldiers in the U. S. Army, they witnessed the brutal exploitation of the Hawaiian sugar workers; how a Hawaiian Communist League was organized in the army to champion the workers' cause; and how both were persecuted for fighting against American tyranny in Cuba, Hawaii and the Philippines, will be told. Most important of all, however, Comrade Trumbull will show how the oppression of colonial peoples affects all American workers.

Other speakers will be Ralph Chaplin, ex-prisoner and poet, of the International Labor Defense; Prof. Robt. M. Lovett, of the Civil Liberties Union, and Max Schachtman, of the Young Workers League. The meeting will be under the auspices of the International Labor Defense.

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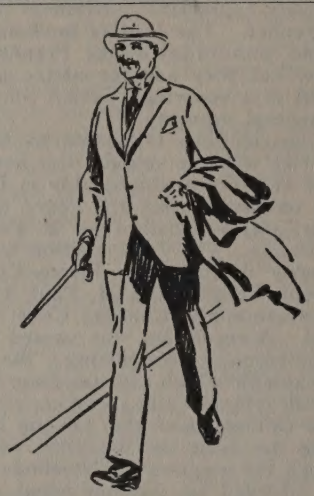

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